

Proud to be Euboeans: The Chalcidians of Thrace

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Περίληψη

Οι Χαλκιδείς της Θράκης, όπως αναφέρονται στην αρχαία γραμματεία και τις επιγραφές, ήταν Ευβοείς άποικοι στη χερσόνησο της Χαλκιδικής που ζούσαν σε μικρές πόλεις στο μυχό του κόλπου της Τορώνης και στη Σιθωνία. Η Όλυνθος παραδόθηκε στους Χαλκιδείς το 479 και εκείνοι αργότερα δημιούργησαν το ισχυρό κοινό των Χαλκιδέων. Οι δεσμοί τους με τη μητρόπολη τεκμαίρονται από το ημερολόγιο τους, την ονοματολογία, το χαλκιδικό αλφάβητο, το ακροφωνικό σύστημα αρίθμησης, καθώς επίσης και από τη νομισματοκοπία. Αυτό το άρθρο εξετάζει όλα τα στοιχεία δίνοντας ιδιαίτερη έμφαση στη νομισματοκοπία.

Introduction

The ties between Euboean Chalcis and the Chalcidians of Thrace are mentioned by both Aristotle and authors of later date.¹ Aristotle, who was born a Chalcidian of Thrace and died in Chalcis, mentions that the Chalcidians of Thrace asked Androdamas of Rhegion to become their lawgiver (*nomothetes*).² Rhegion was also a Chalcidian colony, and it was quite common for a colony to ask for lawgivers from one of its sister cities. Another story that Aristotle relates will be discussed at length later. According to Polybius, the Chalcidians of Thrace were colonists of both Athens and Chalcis, and the main opponent to Philip II in Thrace.³ Strabo noted that Eretria founded the cities of Pallene and Athos whereas Chalcis founded those near Olynthus.⁴ The foundation of these colonies took place when the *Hippobotai* were ruling Chalcis, and the men who led the colonists were among the noblest of their cities. Plutarch mentions the struggle between Chalcidians and Andrians over the foundation of Akanthos in the 7th century BC.⁵

1. Herakleides: *FHG* II 222, fr. 31; D. H. *Amm.* 5; Lib. *Arg. D.* 1.

2. Arist. *Pol.* 1274b: ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Ἀνδροδάμας Ῥηγίνος νομοθέτης Χαλκιδεῦσι τοῖς ἐπὶ Θράκης, οὐ τὰ περὶ τε τὰ φονικά καὶ τὰς ἐπικλήρους ἐστίν.

3. Polyb. 9.28: Ὅτι μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τὴν Μακεδόνων δυναστείαν ἀρχὴν συνέβη γεγονέναι τοῖς Ἕλλησι δουλείας, οὐδ' ἄλλως εἰπεῖν οὐδένα πέπεισμαι τολμήσαι· σκοπεῖν δ' οὕτως ἔξεστιν. ἦν τι σύστημα τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης Ἑλλήνων, οὓς ἀπώκισαν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς, ὧν μέγιστον εἶχε πρόσχημα καὶ δύναμιν ἢ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων πόλις. ταύτην ἐξανδραποδισάμενος Φίλιππος καὶ παράδειγμα ποιήσας οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης πόλεων ἐγένετο κύριος, ἀλλὰ καὶ Θετταλοῦς ὑφ' αὐτὸν ἐποιήσατο διὰ τὸν φόβον.

4. Strab. 10.1.8: Ἐρέτρια μὲν γὰρ συνώκισε τὰς περὶ Παλλήνην καὶ τὸν Ἄθω πόλεις, ἡ δὲ Χαλκὶς τὰς ὑπὸ Ὀλύνθω, ἃς Φίλιππος διελυμήνατο. καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας δὲ καὶ Σικελίας πολλὰ χωρία Χαλκιδέων ἐστίν· ἐστάλησαν δὲ αἱ ἀποικίαι αὐταί, καθάπερ εἶρηκεν Ἀριστοτέλης, ἠνίκα ἢ τῶν Ἱπποβοτῶν καλουμένη ἐπεκράτει πολιτεία· προσέστησαν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἀπὸ τιμημάτων ἄνδρες ἀριστοκρατικῶς ἄρχοντες.

5. Plut. *Mor.* 298.A.3-B.6: “Τίς ἢ περὶ Θράκην † Ἄραοῦ ἀκτὴ;” Ἄνδριοι καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς πλεύσαντες εἰς Θράκην οἰκίσεως ἕνεκα Σάνην μὲν πόλιν ἐκ προδοσίας κοινῇ παρέλαβον, τὴν δ' Ἄκανθον ἐκλελοιπένας τοὺς βαρβάρους πυνθανόμενοι δύο κατασκόπους ἔπεμψαν. ὡς δὲ τῇ πόλει προσιόντες παντὰ πασι πεφευγότας ἤσθάνοντο τοὺς πολεμίους, ὁ μὲν Χαλκιδικός

What the literary sources report is further supported by epigraphic evidence. The Chalcidians shared with their metropolis its dialect, alphabet, calendar and the acrophonic system. New onomastic evidence also points to the close ties between Euboea and the Chalcidic Peninsula. This evidence will be addressed in detail. The earliest inscriptions from the *polismata* of the Chalcidians of Thrace were written in the Euboean alphabet. These are: (a) a dedication from Sarte mentioning *archontes*,⁶ (b) the legend ΣΤΑΤΕΡ ΜΑΧΟΝ on a coin that has been attributed to Sermylia,⁷ and (c) the legend ΧΑΛΚ of the earliest series of the silver coinage of the Chalcidians of Thrace.⁸ Evidence for the Ionic dialect of Olynthus and the Chalcidians of Thrace is found in a number of inscriptions dated to the first half of the 4th century BC. These relate to (a) the treaty between the Chalcidians of Thrace and King Amyntas III of Macedonia,⁹ (b) the treaty with the Illyrian king Grabos,¹⁰ (c) the treaty between the Chalcidians of Thrace and Philip II,¹¹ and (d) a number of sales, all of which are dated to the last decade of the Chalcidic League.¹²

The sales also provide information about the calendar in use in the cities of the Chalcidians of Thrace. This includes the following months: Ἰππιῶν, Πανθεῶν, Ἀπατουριῶν, Ληναίων, Ἄρτεμισίων, Ταργηλιῶν, Ἡραιῶν, Βουφονιῶν and Δημητριῶν.¹³ These were the months of the metropolis.¹⁴ A recently published *diallage* from Dikaia, an Eretrian colony situated not far from Olynthus, provides evidence on Anthesterion and Lenaion, which are also attested at Eretria, and the month Δαφνηφοριῶν.¹⁵ This was the month of the *Daphnephoria*, honouring Apollo, who was worshipped as Daphnephoros in Eretria.¹⁶ The acrophonic system of the Chalcidians of Thrace also links them to their metropolis, Chalcis. The aforementioned sales demonstrate that the drachma was expressed by the letter Δ, ten drachmas with the letter Χ, 100 drachmas with 8 and 1000 with Ψ.¹⁷

The *onomastikon* of the cities of the Chalcidians also reveals the ties with Euboea.¹⁸ Knoepfler's thorough study of the personal names attested in the Chalcidian cities, from Olynthus and Torone to Aphytis and, more recently, Dikaia, has proven beyond doubt that the local *onomastikon* is effectively Euboean. The ties between colony and mother city are also demonstrated by the use of the Euboean standard for some of the earliest coinages of the Chalcidic Peninsula.¹⁹ The same standard was used in the Chalcidian colonies in Sicily.²⁰ The heaviest coin was a stater of 17.2 g, which was divided into sixths, twelfths, twenty-fourths, etc. The earliest silver coins of the Chalcidians of Thrace were sixths of the Euboean standard, whereas Sermylia issued staters on this same standard, bearing the inscription ΣΤΑΤΕΡ.²¹

προεξέδραμεν ὡς καταληψόμενος τοῖς Χαλκιδεῦσι τὴν πόλιν, ὁ δ' Ἄνδριος οὐ συνεξανύτων ἠκόντισε τὸ δόρυ, καὶ ταῖς πύλαις ἐμπαρέντος † μετὰ βολῆς Ἀνδρίων ἔφη παισὶν αἰχμῇ προκατειλήφθαι τὴν πόλιν. ἐκ τούτου διαφορᾶς γενομένης, ἄνευ πολέμου συνέβησαν Ἐρυθραίοις καὶ Σαμίοις καὶ Παρίοις χρῆσασθαι περὶ πάντων δικασταῖς. ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ μὲν Ἐρυθραῖοι καὶ οἱ Σάμιοι τὴν ψήφον Ἀνδρίοις ἤνεγκαν, οἱ δὲ Πάριοι Χαλκιδεῦσιν, ἀρὰς ἔθεντο περὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον οἱ Ἄνδριοι κατ' αὐτῶν μήτε δοῦναι γυναῖκα Παρίοις μήτε λαβεῖν παρ' αὐτῶν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προσηγόρευσαν “ἀκτὴν † Ἀραίνου”, πρότερον ὀνομαζομένην Δράκοντος. f]

6. Papangelos 2007, 718, 722-723, figs. 2 and 3.

7. Psoma 2001b, 13-44.

8. See Psoma 2001a, 253-261.

9. Hatzopoulos 1996, no. 1.

10. Robinson 1938, 43-47. cf. *SEG* 37 (1987) 567.

11. Hatzopoulos 1996, no. 3.

12. For these sales, see Game 2009, nos. 13-38.

13. For the Chalcidian calendar, see Hatzopoulos 1988, 65-66; Knoepfler 1989, 23-59; 1990, 99-115; Trümpy 1997, 39-49, 284.

14. From Chalcis we have Thargelion and Olympion, and from Eretria Anthesterion, Apatourion, Heraion and Hippion.

15. Voutyras and Sismanidis 2007, 253-274. Also, cf. Knoepfler 2007, 117, n. 164.

16. *IG* XII 9, 191.10, 49; 210-26-9.

17. Graham 1969, 347-358.

18. Knoepfler 2007, 87-119.

19. Psoma 2000, 25-36.

20. See Psoma 2016, 98.

21. See Psoma 2001b, 13-44.

We should briefly recall that archaeological evidence corroborates literary sources and epigraphic evidence, and thus we can easily explain Herodotus' two passages (7.185; 8.126-8.127) mentioning the *Chalkidikon genos*.²² The use of the term *genos* points to a common origin of colonists living in small coastal *polismata* until 432 BC. This common origin played a significant role in the success of the federal state that the Chalcidians of Thrace founded at the suggestion of Perdikkas II.²³ During this period of intense military preparations and the massive revolt of the cities of the western part of the main body of the Chalcidic Peninsula and Sithonia, the common Euboean origin and the relation with the metropolis were further revealed by the choice of coin types of Olynthus and later of the Chalcidian League.²⁴

Olynthus, the most important of the cities of the Chalcidians, continued to issue its silver coins with the prancing horse on the obverse and the eagle holding a snake on the reverse.²⁵ These were the types of silver *hektai* on the Euboean standard that were struck c.450 BC and had the letters XALK of the Euboean alphabet on the four corners of the incuse square on the reverse (Fig. 1).²⁶ The new series with the name of Olynthus had the first four letters of the city's ethnic, OΛΥΝ, with the arrangement of the series in the name of the Chalcidians of Thrace (Fig. 2).²⁷

To explain the horse found on these coins, one should remember that Chalcis was the city of the *Hippobotai*²⁸ and that horses are commonly depicted on Greek coinage issued in Thrace, an area where wild horses still live today.²⁹ The forepart of a bridled horse occurs on the obverse of silver coins of 3.6 g (drachms) from the Gerakini hoard,³⁰ issued by an unidentified city of this same area during the last decades of the 6th century BC.³¹ We should recall the horse of the light tetrobols of Alexander I and Perdikkas II, and also the rider on the heavy tetrobols of both kings and the horse on the half-stater of Sermylia.³² A horse and his rider are also depicted on the two series of the silver coins of Sermylia.³³ On the obverse of a silver coin of Potidaia, we find Poseidon Hippios riding his horse.³⁴ We can thus suggest that there was some kind of iconographic *koine* in the wider area and that the horse was a popular type in this same area.

22. Hdt. 7.185: Πεζοῦ δὲ τὸν Θρηκίικες παρείχοντο καὶ Παίονες καὶ Ἑορδοὶ καὶ Βοττιαῖοι καὶ τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν γένος καὶ Βρύγοι καὶ Πίερες καὶ Μακεδόνες καὶ Περραβοὶ καὶ Ἐνιήνες καὶ Δόλοπες καὶ Μάγνητες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ ὅσοι τῆς Θρηκίικης τὴν παραλίην νέμονται, τούτων τῶν ἔθνέων τριήκοντα μυριάδας δοκέω γενέσθαι; 8.126-8.127: Οἱ γὰρ Ποτειδαῖηται, ὡς βασιλεὺς παρεξελήλακε καὶ ὁ ναυτικὸς τοῖσι Πέρσησι οἰχώκεε φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἀπέστασαν ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων· ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ τὴν Παλλήνην ἔχοντες· Ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Ἀρτάβαζος ἐπολιόρκεε τὴν Ποτειδαίαν· Ὑποπτεύσας δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ ταύτην ἐπολιόρκεε· εἶχον δὲ αὐτὴν Βοττιαῖοι οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Θερμαίου κόλπου ἐξαναστάντες ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων· Ἐπεὶ δὲ σφεας εἶλε πολιορκέων, κατέσφαξε ἐξαγαγῶν ἐς λίμνην, τὴν δὲ πόλιν παραδιδοὶ Κριτοβούλῳ Ἐρωναίῳ ἐπιτροπεύειν καὶ τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ γένει· καὶ οὕτω Ὀλυνθον Χαλκιδικῆς ἔσχον. For the archaeological evidence, see Tiverios 2008.

23. Thuc. 1.58.2.

24. For the types of Olynthus, see Psoma, Forthcoming.

25. For the date of these coins, see *Olynthus* IX 296-298.

26. For these very rare coins, see Psoma 2001a, 253-261.

27. *Olynthus* IX 294, no. 10 and pl. XXXIV, no. 10. For Robinson-Clement, this is the latest silver of Olynthus; *Olynthus* IX 296. I believe that the shape of the incuse square on the reverse points to a place for this coinage at the beginning of the series.

28. Hdt. 5.77. The clerouchs remained there until the Median Wars: see Hdt. 6.100. According to Plutarch (*Vit. Per.* 23.3-23.4), the Athenians expelled the *Hippobotai* once more in 446/5 BC. cf. Claud. Ael. *VH* 6.1. There is no mention of the *Hippobotai* in *IG* I³ 40.

29. See Gaebler 1935, pl. XII 1-11 (Bisaltai), XXI 1-8 (Sermylia), XXVI 31-8, XXVII 1-7 ('Unbestimmte'), XXVIII 1-7 (Mosses)

30. *CH* VIII 37.

31. *CH* VIII 79, pl. IV, no. 2.

32. For these Macedonian kings, see Raymond 1953 and *SNG* Alpha Bank 5-14 (heavy tetrobols), 21-26, 48, 106-126, (heavy tetrobols), 26-27, 49-53, 57-58, 75-76, 82-105 (light tetrobols), 15, 28-44, 54, 59-71, 77-81, 127-134 (small silver fractions). For Sermylia, see Gaebler 1935, 106-107, pl. II 6 (free horse).

33. Psoma 2001b, 13-44.

34. See Alexander 1953, 210-217.

The eagle grasping a snake on the reverse is a clear reference to an omen of Zeus, and at the same time is also the most ancient and significant type of the coinage of Chalcis (Fig. 3).³⁵ It is connected at Chalcis with the cult of Zeus Olympios, which was the most prominent in this city, as all significant documents had to be published in his sanctuary.³⁶ Ὀλυμπίων was the name of a month in Chalcis.³⁷

As the coinage in the name of the Chalcidians was on the Euboean-Attic standard with a weight of 2.9 g,³⁸ and Olynthian silver had a weight of 2.4 g,³⁹ the sharing of the obverse created confusion and thus the prancing horse was very soon abandoned. The new obverse type of Olynthus, with a bridled horse and an Ionic column, was adopted to denote that this coinage was issued on a different standard (Fig. 4).⁴⁰

I explain these types in connection with Olynthus' metropolis, Chalcis, elsewhere, but I summarize here my conclusions. The bridled horse is a clear reference to cavalry. The military skills of the *Chalkidike hippos* were related to the triumph of the mother city during the Lelantine (?) War.⁴¹ These same skills were often mentioned by Thucydides for the years following the revolt of the Chalcidians, in 432 BC. The intervention of the Chalcidian cavalry was decisive at the battle of Spartolos (2.79.3-2.79.6), during the second campaign of Perdikkas II and Brasidas against Arrabaios of Lynkestos (4.124.1), and in the battle of Amphipolis (5.10.9-5.10.10). Xenophon, who described the three-year war conducted by Sparta and its allies against the Chalcidians of Thrace, also stressed the skills of the Chalcidian cavalry: they attacked the Lacedaemonians and the Boeotians, killed the Lacedaemonian hipparch and attacked the cavalry of Teleutias (*Hell.* 5.2.41); at the beginning of the following spring the Chalcidian cavalry attacked Apollonia (5.3.1), the peltasts of Tlemonides, killed Tlemonides (*Hell.* 5.3.3) and also Teleutias, the brother of King Agesilaos (*HG* 5.3.6). After the end of the war, the Chalcidian cavalry participated in the military expedition of King Agesilaus against Thebes in 378 BC (*HG* 5.4.54). Lathenes and Euthykrates were federal hipparchs,⁴² and their betrayal to Philip II brought about the capture of Olynthus and the dissolution of the Chalcidian League.⁴³

The column with Ionic capital is a funeral monument.⁴⁴ Funeral columns of large size were used during the Archaic and the Early Classical periods to mark burials.⁴⁵ This use may be linked back to references to men as columns that support homes in Archaic Greek poetry.⁴⁶ Archilochos, when praising two Naxian brothers, Megatimus and Aristophon, calls them 'Naxos' tall columns.⁴⁷ For Pindar, Hector was 'Troy's unconquerable, immovable column',⁴⁸ while Agamemnon was called by Clytaemnestra (Aesch. *Ag.* 897-898) the 'grounded pillar of a high roof'. Iphigenia says in *Iphigenia in Tauris* (42-58)

35. Kraay 1976, 90, pl. 15, no. 264. For one specimen in the Asyut hoard, see Price and Waggoner 1975, 54-56, no. 253, pl. XIV.

36. *IG I³* 40 l. 35, 61-62.

37. For a month with the name Olympion at Chalcis, see *IG XII 9*, 900b ll. 1-2. For Zeus at Chalcis, see *Plut. Vit. Thes.* 16; *Thgn.* 894. All evidence in Bakhuizen 1985, 89.

38. For these coins, see Raymond 1953, 197-200; see also Psoma 2001a, 251-263.

39. For Perdikkas II and his help to Potidaea and the cities that revolted, see *Thuc.* 1.57-1.62.

40. Only one obverse die is known from this second series of Olynthus and this die is linked with the second series that depicted a bridled horse and an Ionic column on the obverse. *Olynthus IX* 294-297, nos. 1-9, pl. XXXIV, nos. 1-9.

41. See Parker 1997, 145-147.

42. *D.* 8.40; 19.265 and 267; 341; Synesios, Letter XCV in Hercher 1873, 696; *D.S.* 16.53.2.

43. Psoma 2001a, 247 n. 484.

44. In the ancient world, we find funerary, votive, trophy and honorary columns. See the list of monuments of different groups in Bakhuizen 1976, 43-48. Honorary columns date from the Roman period, and votive columns were in shrines and presented vessels, sphinxes or statues on top of them. We know of trophy columns from Marathon, Cape Kynosoura of Salamis and Delphi. These were all associated with very significant events in Greek history.

45. See Guarducci 1967-1978, 129, 165-166.

46. Jordan-Ruwe 1995, 8.

47. Diehl 1949-1952, *Epigr.* 16.

48. *Pind. Ol.* 2.78-82. Snell 1964, 11.

that ‘sons are the pillars of the house.’ Some well-known examples of pillars and columns marking graves during the Archaic period are those of Xenares at Corcyra,⁴⁹ of Aristandros at Assos,⁵⁰ of Praxiteles and of Damotimos at Troizen.⁵¹ Similar monuments come from the Teian colony of Abdera.⁵² The funerary epigram on the capital of the column for Xenares from Corcyra is written in Homeric style, and describes in Homeric terms the monument it adorns.⁵³ Tumuli adorned with vertical markers (stele on a tumulus) were, in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, devices used to ensure that the deceased man’s inextinguishable glory (*asbeston kleos*) would not be forgotten.⁵⁴

The funeral column combined with the horse on the obverse of the coins of Olynthus points to a dead cavalryman. During a period in which numismatic types of cities of the same area such as Dikaia (Fig. 5), Aineia (Fig. 6), Skione (Fig. 7) and Potidaea (Fig. 8) refer to the mother city, Olynthus also turned to its metropolis for this new obverse type, as she had already done before with the reverse type and the previous obverse type. Thus, the new obverse type might refer to an episode connected to Chalcis. We learn from Plutarch’s *Amatorius* (760e-761b) that there was a big column (*megas kion*) in the agora of Chalcis: ‘the column was a sepulchral monument for a foreign horseman who had come to assistance of Chalcis in a war and who had subsequently died in battle.’⁵⁵ What follows below is the story of Cleomachus reported by Plutarch (*Amat.* 760e-761b).

Cleomachus came to help the Chalcidians when the Lelantine War against the Eretrians was at its height. The Chalcidian infantry was thought to have considerable strength, but they found it difficult to resist the enemy cavalry. Accordingly, his allies requested Cleomachus, a man of splendid courage, to be the first to charge his horse. His beloved was there and Cleomachus asked him if he was going to witness the battle. The youth said that he was, embraced Cleomachus tenderly, and put on his helmet for him. Filled with ardour, Cleomachus assembled the bravest of the Thesalians about himself, made a fine charge, and fell upon the enemy with such vigour that their cavalry was thrown into confusion and was thoroughly routed. When subsequently their hoplites also fled, the Chalcidians had a decisive victory. It was, however, Cleomachus’ bad fortune to be killed in the battle. The Chalcidians point out his tomb in the market-place with the great pillar standing on to this day. Formerly they had frowned in pederasty, but now they accepted it and honoured it more than others did. Now Aristotle says that the circumstances of Cleomachus’ death in victorious battle with the Eretrians were different and that the lover embraced by his friend was one of the Chalcidians from Thrace sent as an ally to the Chalcidians of Euboea. This, he says, is the reason for the Chalcidian popular song:

‘Ye lads of grace and sprung from worthy stock,
Grudge not to have men converse with your beauty:
In cities of Chalcis, Love, looser of limbs,
Thrives side by side with courage.’⁵⁶

When Plutarch visited Chalcis, the Chalcidians still pointed out his tomb in the marketplace with

49. *IG IX* 1² 881.

50. *IAssos* 1.

51. *IG IV* 800 and 801. For pictures see Jeffery 1990², pl. 70, no. 10 (Aristandros) and pl. 32 nos. 2, 3 for Troizen.

52. *IThrAeg* E031 for Anaxidikos, the son of Nymphis, E032 for Artemisie daughter of Nymphodoros (capital of brown poros), and E035 for Pythagoras (?), son of Semagoras (?).

53. For the epigram, see *CEG* 146. For the Homeric hexameter, see McGowan 1995, 617, 618 with n. 18.

54. See previous note.

55. Backhuizen 1976, 43.

56. Minar et al., trans. 1969.

the great column standing on it.⁵⁷ According to Aristotle,⁵⁸ the cavalryman was one of the Chalcidians from Thrace who had been sent as an ally to the mother city.⁵⁹ Thus, Aristotle connected the victory of Chalcis with the Chalcidians of Thrace. The participation of the colonists in this (Lelantine?) war⁶⁰ saved their mother city. This victory created a further link between Chalcis and the *Chalkidikon genos* of Thrace. It was commemorated at Chalcis by the burial of the dead cavalry commander within the city, in the agora, thus turning him into a hero, and also with the erection of the big column on top of it.⁶¹ Aristotle was connected to both the Chalcidians of Thrace and Chalcis. His father was from Stagira, a city-member of the Chalcidian League during the 4th century BC,⁶² and his mother was a descendant of one of the earliest colonists from Chalcis in Euboea.⁶³

By adopting the eagle grasping a snake of the metropolis, Olynthus followed the tradition of colonies and mother cities having common numismatic iconography. Colonies sometimes adopted types of their metropolis: Abdera and Teos shared the griffin and the Corinthian colonies in western Greece, and Corinth shared Pegasus and Athena's head.⁶⁴ This tradition was also followed, as I have already stressed, by neighbouring Dikaia,⁶⁵ which issued its silver coinage with the numismatic types of its mother city, Eretria.⁶⁶ In other cases, legendary founders were depicted, as is the case with Aineia and Skione with Aeneas and Protesilaos.⁶⁷ However, Olynthus' choice of the *meḡas kion* of Chalcis, a monument of the metropolis referring to a glorious episode of its history and the colony's contribution provided by the dead hero, is somewhat original. In this case we should note not only the adoption of the type of the metropolis (eagle grasping a snake), but more significantly the depiction of a monument of the agora of the metropolis, the *meḡas kion*, which was related to the colony and thus strengthened and stressed the links between mother city and colony.

After the foundation of the Chalcidian League, c. 432 BC, the most significant Greek power in Thrace until the reign of Philip II,⁶⁸ the Chalcidians chose types related to Apollo for their federal coinage: his head for the obverse, and kithara, tripod or laurel branch for the reverse.⁶⁹ Apollo and types related to him were found in his two sanctuaries, at Delos and Delphi,⁷⁰ and in a number of cities. The adoption of types related to this god needs no explanation as far as Delos and Delphi were concerned. The other places where similar types were adopted were Sybaris, Kroton and Kaulonia towards the west,⁷¹ Zakynthos, off the coast of Elis, and Kolophon in Ionia.⁷²

Sybaris and Kroton were Achaean colonies whereas Kaulonia was a colony of Kroton.⁷³ Accord-

57. For other evidence about Plutarch's visit to Chalcis: Bakhuizen 1976, 43. See also Bakhuizen 1985, 84-86.

58. It might be that this was the local historian Aristoteles of Chalcis: Winckelmann 1836, 187. *contra* Hubert 1938, 367; *FGHist* (423) 244, 251

59. The information provided by Aristotle derives either from his *Erotikos* or the *Politeia* of the Chalcidians. For *Erotikos* see Laurenti 1987, band 2, 560-562. For the *Politeia* of the Chalcidians, see Heitz 1869, 295.

60. Bakhuizen 1976, 44. For this episode in the context of the Lelantine War, see Parker 1997, 145-147.

61. For the significance of the burial in the agora, see Thuc. 5.11.1 and Gomme 1945-1951, 654-646.

62. For Stageira as a member of the Chalcidian League, see Zahnrt 1971; Psoma 2001; Flensted-Jensen 2004.

63. D. H. *Amm.* 5.

64. Kraay 1976, 82-85, 86-87 (Corinth and colonies), 35 (Teos and Abdera).

65. For the location of Dikaia, see Psoma 2011a, 479-489. For the origin of the Chalcidians of Thrace, see Knoepfler 2007, 87-119, with all previous bibliography.

66. For the history of Dikaia, see Zahnrt 1971; Flensted-Jensen 2004, 826-827, no. 568.

67. For these coins, see Gaebler 1935, 20-21, pl. V 33-36 (Aineia), 57-59, pl. 16-21 and 24-27 (Dikaia). For Skione, see Jenkins 1990, 58 and pls. 92-93. For Potidaea, see Alexander 1953, 210-217.

68. For the relations between Macedonia and the Chalcidian League, see Psoma 2011b, 113-135.

69. For the types of the coinage of the Chalcidians, see Psoma 2001a, 17.

70. For the coinage of Delos, see Hackens 1973, 209-226. For Delphi, see Svoronos 1896, 5-54.

71. For these coinages, see Rutter 2012, 128-141.

72. For the coinage of Kolophon, see Milne 1941.

73. For Sybaris see Antiochos of Syracuse *FGHist* 555 F 12, who calls it an Achaean colony, and Arist. *Pol.* 1303a29, who describes it as a colony of Troizenians and Achaeans. Ps. Skymnos 360 and Euseb. *Chron.* 91b report foundation dates in

ing to Thucydides (2.66), Zakynthos was also a colony of the Achaeans.⁷⁴ The founder of this city was Zakynthos, son of Dardanos, from Psophis in Arcadia (Paus. 8.24.3).⁷⁵ There is information about a temple of Apollo,⁷⁶ and another of Aphrodite with statues of Aphrodite and her son Aeneias.⁷⁷ The silver coinage of this city, the drachms and smaller fractions, was issued with the type of a tripod and later Apollo.⁷⁸ Apollo's sister, Artemis, was worshipped in Zakynthos with the obscure *epiklesis* Opitais.⁷⁹ The *chora* of the Ionian city of Kolophon contained Klaros and the well-known Apollo's sanctuary.⁸⁰ The god's head and his kithara were adopted for the two-sided silver coinage of the city during the 460s. The Chalcidians followed them and adopted types related to Apollo from the late 430s/early 420s. One recalls that Athens was among the first to introduce the head of Athena on the obverse and a symbol referring directly to the goddess on the reverse on the two-sided silver coinage.

Thus, in all previously mentioned cases cities that were colonial foundations adopted types related to Apollo because Apollo Archegetes was the god of the colonists. The adoption of these types by the Chalcidians reveals once more their identity as colonists and their strong links with their mother city.⁸¹ Calendar, cults, dialect, the acrophonic system and the alphabet arrived in the area with the colonists and were shared by colony and mother city. However, the request to Rhegion for a *nomothetes*, the introduction of coin types that reproduced monuments of the metropolis and referred to the glorious common past of both, and finally the adoption of coin types relating directly to the god of the colonists reveal a great deal about the pride the Chalcidians of Thrace had in their Euboean metropolis, Chalcis.

721/720 BC and 709/708 BC, respectively. For Kroton see Hdt. 8.47 and Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.59.3 for the foundation date in 709/8 BC. For Kaulonia see Strab. 6.1.10; Paus. 6.3.12; Ps-Skymnos 318-319; St.B. 147.9-147.10. For these cities, see Fischer Hansen et al. 2004, nos. 55 (Kaulonia), 56 (Kroton), 70 (Sybaris).

74. For Zakynthos, see Gehrke and Wirbelauer 2004, 374-375, no. 141.

75. Psophis was the name of the acropolis of Zakynthos: Paus. 8.24.3, repeated by Steph. Byz. 705.4.

76. Plut. *Dio* 23.3 (r357).

77. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.50.3.

78. Kraay 1976, 96.

79. *IG IX 1*² 1731. cf. *SEG XIV* 481: the dedication of a citizen of Zakynthos in Artemis Opitais found in the walls of Neapolis in the Thasian Peraia. For this *epiklesis*, see Schmidt *RE XVIII*.1.689. For a relation of Opitais and Oupis, see Schmidt *RE XVIII*.1.689 based on Wide 1893, 127 n. 9. For Opis *vel* Oupis, see Ambühl 2007.

80. Plut. *Dio* 23.3 (r357).

81. For Apollo and the colonists, see Malkin 1987, *passim*.

Abbreviations

- CEG = Hansen, P. A., ed. (1983) *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca: Saeculorum VIII-V A. Chr. N.*, Texte und Kommentare, vol. 1. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- CH = *Coin Hoards I-X* (1975-2011)
- FGrHist = Jacoby, F., ed. (1923-) *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*. Amsterdam: Brill Academic Publishers.
- FHG = *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*
- IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae*
- IThrAeg = Loukopoulou, L. D., M. G. Parissaki, S. Psoma and A. Zournatzi (2005) *Σύνταγμα Επιγραφών της Θράκης του Αιγαίου*, Athens: Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity.
- Olynthus IX = Robinson, D. M. and A. Clement (1938) *Excavations at Olynthus*. Vol. IX. *The Chalcidic Mint and the Excavation Coins Found in 1928-1934*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins' Press.
- RE = *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Neue Bearbeitung*, begonnen von G. Wissowa (1894-1978)
- SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
- SNG = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*

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Figures



Figure 1 (a and b):
Hekte of the Chalchideans
of Thrace (Euboic standard),
SNG ANS 467: 2.63 G, 6 h.



Figure 2 (a and b):
Tetrobol of Olynthos
(Milesian standard, 1st series),
SNG ANS 466: 2.13 g, 3 h.



Figure 3 (a and b):
Tetrobol of Olynthos
(Milesian standard,
2nd series), SNG ANS
464: 2.425 g, 4 h.



Figure 4:
Stater of Chalkis
(Attic standard): Gorny &
Mosch Giessener
Münzhandlung Auction 215,
13 October 2013, 830: 17.20 g.



Figure 5:
Drachm of Eretria (Attic
standard), same types as
Dikaia: Dorotheum 22
May 2013 Auction, 17.



Figure 6:
Stater of Aineia (Attic standard),
SNG ANS 67: 15.90 g (chisel cut).



Figure 7:
Skione. Silver stater of Eu-
boean-Attic standard 16.33
g, ex Auktion Hess-Divo,
321, 25/ 10/ 2012, lot 89.



Figure 8:
Stater of Potidaea
(Euboean-Attic),
SNG ANS 687: 17. 26 G.